241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characteristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the Calendario[21]. [234] [233] More striking still is the emergence, since 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working
461 with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land.
221 An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work
[592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping
221 (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third
461 sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
221 (ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
461 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in
24 which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the
178 elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of
181 late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded
[173] fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

241 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external
46 factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate
178 or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further
181 consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a
461 fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple
178 orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost
181 would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour [464] is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characterisites of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (Section 1).

as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 241 234 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on
(a) the type of farm-unit involved,
(b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gomitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[991] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [46] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 pm. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

except in one case (Case IX).

The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit, olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is in part governed by religion and in part by price and availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U. collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

Miège (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and

178 241 234 512 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is secondary and then based primarily on the production of fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the family.

512 527 796 [241] [234] Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine. Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en fête and to Church. A procession of religious images, members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working [178] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the [575] merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band Clubs have lost for them something of their position of fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of [461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 796 562 575 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both men and women can share in the religious and social aspects. The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the past hundred years have however been solidly masculine (B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are 517 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds, gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U. collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti' 517 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday 443 morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital [184] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern [494] resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little inter-village transport (B/381).

178 241 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above, whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people) is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at all possible from following in the footsteps of their fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job
[461] which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far
[221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
[434] advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
465 the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal Commissioners (B/184), Midge (B/516) and Price (B/556), but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming community had by that date become investment conscious and had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field work at all. The developments observed by the 1911 Commissioners were by no means general among the rural population at that time. They were in fact merely the
178 first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
433 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
722 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
465 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before. He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce - or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was the feeling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time, the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

(a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

(c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

(6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a new commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

*159 185 241 178 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 367 [427] His house is old and remote from the village. He pays the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought", £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly [157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 54 ● 461 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 464 654 [426] Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can himself operate his small holding and care for his two dozen animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for *159 443 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

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[245] - Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii) - Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii) - Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231] - Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

H. General.

*159 829 241
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234]
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [241]
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511]
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58[a]

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts[b]	6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous	1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats.[c]		29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from N.H.U.	1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning			1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing	3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering			1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes (Sowing			1								5														6	-
Potatoes (Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	-
Potatoes (Lifting									6												2				8	-
Vines Pruning											12		3												15	-
Vines Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
Vines Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
Tomatoes Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
Tomatoes Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat Sowing							1		10																11	-
Wheat Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley Sowing							3																		3	-
Barley Reaping																			5						5	-
Bulla Sowing	2																						1		3	-
Bulla Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	-
Bulla Binding(d)																	5						5		10	-
Narrows, Melons, Pumpkins,													1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic					1				1																3	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)	5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)													1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -		2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow. and hoeing			1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																					5		3		8	-

continued

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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												5		3		1[illegible]	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in B/5).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Gulepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Gulepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 159 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpannija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 656 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possible however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

[432] [434] *159 476 234 465

available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tnien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

159 The family has occupied the present house for several
137 generations and has acquired the street name as a family
423 nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even
551 semi-official, mode of reference though not of address,
[554] when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gaetu is a
[621] prominent member of the community in his part of the village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more
829 isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an
82 active supporter of the local football club and a regular
461 cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such
234 relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially to the goats which he will keep "because we have always
*159 had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite
829 his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.
544 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public
234 lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He
178 thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods". He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time and labour thus expended would bring no additional return to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures) would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land
423 holding.)

A. Land.

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the l-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 **B. Utilisation.**
241

The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

This increase in the

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
[511] financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

Work and Labour

* 159 As seen, Ġanri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
461 all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
464 This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit.....	1740	man/hours
	- vines.....	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġanri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.....		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties.....		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous.....		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġanri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (bagħli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

000 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

*159 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of
46 activity reflects the major points of contrast between the
241 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in con-
231 trast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying
a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays
and feste days when the field-working farmer expects to be off
duty.

*159 Ġamri and farming
829 Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his
24 forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the
[212] limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the
Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of
the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn
[191] English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them
[871] all". English language is synonomous with education in his
thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of
escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese
society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat
ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government
[722] - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots
in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages
produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer.
The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government
for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time con-
[454] ditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly
deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built
up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the
[729] cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so
[435] hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market";
now his position is one of a constant battle with rising
[434] costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and
[178] guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent
[231] moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get
into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri him-
*159 self, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the
829 Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities".
794 Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which
18 he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country".
178 But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement
(another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some
part in the secular administration of the country for he be-
lieves that an application for relief for storm damage made,
through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an
approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full
*159 of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere
829 that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious.
86 Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today
18 is much wider than was the case when his father regarded
178

*159 407 427 paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on ♂'s personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tonna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tonna.
- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tonna.

E. Labour.

*159 464 - ♂'s 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:
  (a) Joint holding worked by partners and ♂'s nephew.
  (b) Land held by ♂, deriving from wife's family, farmed by ♂ and eldest nephew.
  (c) Land held by ♂'s brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 ● 461 - A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.
  (a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On ♂'s own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tonna.

*159 434 241 F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From ♂'s land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
♂'s share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434 - This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tonna, fruit £28 per tonna,

TABLE 6.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS, 1957-58

ACTIVITY	AUG. AM	AUG. PM	SEPT. AM	SEPT. PM	OCT. AM	OCT. PM	NOV. AM	NOV. PM	DEC. AM	DEC. PM	JAN. AM	JAN. PM	FEB. AM	FEB. PM	MAR. AM	MAR. PM	APR. AM	APR. PM	MAY AM	MAY PM	JUNE AM	JUNE PM	JULY AM	JULY PM	YEAR AM	YEAR PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts (1)	8	4½	8	4	4	4	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	4	4	8	8	7	8	4	4	84	84½
To Valletta or Kosta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting	½		½	½			1	1										1						1	2	1½
Too wet for field-work (2)					10½	8½	9	13	3	8	4	8	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	38½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									2½	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		3	
Repairing Storm Damage (2)										1					3	2									3	3
Other building Work (3)	1		½		4	8	4½	3	3	1½							2							13	8½
Implement maintainance												1				1										2
B FIELD WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		8											1½	1½	4		2	8	2	11		11	8½	48½
Plowing, working (3)	½		2		4½	8½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	2	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying (4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general) (5)								1	1		2	2	7	8	8	7	3	2½	2						23	17½
APPLES (6): GATHERING	7	8																			2		14½	4½	23½	8½
" : "DOUGING" (6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES: GRAFTING											3½	5	1	1											8½	6
PRUNING											3½	3	2	2											8½	8
PICKING	1		4	3½																					8	3½
Making Wine			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES: PLANTING																1		2		1						4
PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1

continued.

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E26 Malta E26

[P.122]

*159
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(Case X Table continued)

ACTIVITY		AUG. AM	AUG. PM	SEPT. AM	SEPT. PM	OCT. AM	OCT. PM	NOV. AM	NOV. PM	DEC. AM	DEC. PM	JAN. AM	JAN. PM	FEB. AM	FEB. PM	MAR. AM	MAR. PM	APR. AM	APR. PM	MAY AM	MAY PM	JUNE AM	JUNE PM	JULY AM	JULY PM	YEAR AM	YEAR PM
POTATOES:	SOWING			1	1					1		5½	7	2	3											8½	11
	LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY:	SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
	REAPING																		1	1						1	1
WHEAT:	SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
	REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF(7)									1		2		1	2	5		4½	2	3							4	10½
BEANS:	SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
	CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
SULLA:	SOWING																							½	1	½	1
	REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
	BINDING																		1				½	½		½	1½
OTHER FIELD WORK		6½	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½		6	5½	5	½	1	22½	19
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED																4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
		31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Gnejna.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Maxix" - including a variety of grasses, 'ingliża', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.

*159 241

for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.¼ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ¼ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [402] [423] [464] [178]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.

[435] [451] ● [461] [157]

- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, renewed and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464

Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

A. Land.

423 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields
427 in Mallieha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 B. Utilization. With parcels of land so dispersed and so
241 variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Squash, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are
231 only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.

[435] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to
[454] statement made to C.A.R.E. Estimated possible total less than £100.

[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[474] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section
[241] 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-ploughing: shallow-ploughing at 10s per tomna and deep-ploughing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

[464] - Rarely hires labour.

●[461] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

TABLE 7

	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	8	8	8	8	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[1]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storm)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.[j]
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	6[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3[b]	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working, etc.	5	5[d]	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	8[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2[h]	4	3[i]
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting kemix[k]	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting seaweed			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. hoeing, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. kemix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. kemix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

F. Production and Sales.

(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (r/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

*159 433 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, legumi[illegible] fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land there vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:
Relies entirely on [illegible] plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Sigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:
Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 24 433 435 [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melħ" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorġa tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 159 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 198 46 *[159] [369] [162] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
●461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely
residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his
sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this
type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no
importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generations, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population
as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the
fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election
times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and
his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance.
He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily
- because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging
the younger farming generation from staying on the land and
struggling against rising costs to sell products which are
but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present
Government policy of assistance by both financial support in
various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods
and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)
423 A. Land.
- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Mofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
[427] - Soils: i-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.
[241] - Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.
459 - No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
422 - Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
423 - Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.
464 - Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
[465] - Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 156 ●461 626 517 493 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he to plow on Sundays or fests days he would be "publically ostracized and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 156 593 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical. He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 156 [583] Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data') system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni. He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close [178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

*159 CASE XV

402 407 000 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention. Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta. They appear to have been among the first in the tractor